It Gordon E-4, 3 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

monthly sit. This darbar must not be confused with the §93
electoral darbar which will be referred to later. It is §95
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial §95
darbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons §97
to appear before this darbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his ministers, 644
although it is true that in some States the members of the
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is
regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village 632
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and 651
execute and receive for the chief the *pynsah*, which may be
literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *lyngdoh*, who is the superior of a number of 646
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. 651
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any 648
tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. [623]
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsah*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This
fee is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
entertainments, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contributions varies in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of 643
income, however, is the toll (*khrong*), 651
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his 643
territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
of the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no
excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

I:Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iaïoh kur*. Wherever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be sumpi. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife, and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the father's death there is no religious bar, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the War country, however, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother; she is in his place like his birth sister. Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Syntong, War, and Lyngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the War country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new home, where, after children

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*), which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka iap shiang wawbah*), and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious ceremony which consists largely of a feast to the clan-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u khap*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Binkarem, now the *pyrsop iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang divisions.

In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siems. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siems to succeed to the property of such a family. The Syteng custom of *'sop iing* may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *finassed* by the Khasis and Lyngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateaux of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (*a*) public and (*b*) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are State's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, and they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngkhi.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngkhis or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shnong or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawkyntang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(*b*.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur* or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang khew clan, and many others.

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

123 Thang Khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained, in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka iing khadduh*," or last home, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iing-ap*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan.

123 128 *Ri kpoh* are private lands which have been either acquired by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the systems seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

123 In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

It Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

SOIL LAND OR REVENUE PAYING LAND.

(1) *Raj* lands, which used to be the property of the Raja of Jaintiapur, now the property of Government, which are assessed to land revenue.

(2) Service lands, which are lands given rent free to dolois, pawns, and other officers who carry on the administration.

(3) Village puja lands, being land the occupants of which pay rent to the *dolois* or lyngdoh, which are set apart in each village for purposes of worship. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

(4) Private lands held by individuals, and which have been transferred from time to time by mortgage sale or otherwise at the will of the owner. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

High lands are sub-divided into (1) Private lands, held like *kali* private lands. (2) Unclaimed land, or Government Waste.

Up till now the Government has not assessed revenue on the high lands which are its own property. Surveys have been made from time to time of the Government *Raj kali* lands in the Jaintia Hills, but the maps require bringing up to date. The revenue on such lands is assessed at an uniform rate, viz. at 10 annas a bigha, and the leases have been issued so as to expire contemporaneously. A list of service lands of dolois and others, showing the number of plots held by each official and their approximate total area in bighas, is kept in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. Puja lands are plots of lands set apart entirely for the support of the lyngdohs and other persons who perform the pujas of the doloships. These lands are generally leased out by the dolois, but in some doloships they are under the management of the lyngdohs. The occupants of the puja lands have either to present annually sacrificial animals or objects, e.g. bulls, goats, fowls, or pigs, rice, liquor, &c., or make a payment in cash. In the War country in the Jaintia Hills, orange, *pán*, and betel-nut gardens, are held as private property except in a few villages where there are some *Raj pán* gardens which have been assessed to land revenue at the same rates as Government *kali* lands. The various gardens are distinguishable by means of boundary stones or stone cairns, by

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

422 prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

423 In the *War* country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *eraps*. A *eraj* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *eraps* I may describe the community known as the *lai eraj* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the term *eraj* being known as the "*ri lai eraj*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three men, U Kyntu, U Nalein, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had as their abode the village of Laitmawsia close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitmawsia and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding War villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkseh, Nongrmai, Mawsh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three men above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *eraps*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *eraj* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *Iaiwiew phew eraj*, or sixty *eraps*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai eraj* are identifiable on the ground. The business of the *eraj* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

423 [427] 612 In the country of the Lyngams the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngam villages, like those in the Khasi States, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lyngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngam villages that certain tracts of land belong to the

It Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

respective villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes regarding these lands between the different villages. Such disputes are settled by the Lyngdoh Sirdars of villages or by the Sirdars sitting with the two Lyngdohs of the Simmahip. If the disputes cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngdohs and Sirdars to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State councils.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis.

METHODS OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no reconciliation can be effected, a crier (*u nong pyrta shaong*), or in the Jaintia Hills a *nongot*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young, thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a content. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

(a)] so take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lan. She has two
98 sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lan. To these we also add the sons [32] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lan but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted to it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lan, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi customs, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

631 The entire clan-family of Lan is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
857 stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A [30] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of kah-ot and kolocr, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /life/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick as one arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (rawaiha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

923 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily
• it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain [29] and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1953), pp. 207 ff.

[31] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

403 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, bees, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

manure, and primarily for breeding, since the men cannot be dispensed with for the cultivation of the fields, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes,(4)

3. P.R.T. Gordon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 121 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 696 ff.; P.F. Hagmüller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthropos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 610 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Hangneo-Frau in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Hangneo Frau in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 6, (Vienna, 1911) No. 1-6, pp. 888 ff.; Hagmüller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as snake shooting, (5) at the name giving, /13/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stromtal etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 220 and 227.

and at the cremation of the dead.

Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erection and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the centre of the whole family, and its possession forms the surest sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably preserved the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall: they are supposed to be the seat of the

his wife and children.

2. Holy Places of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered rang or kynrang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndit rang, khlaw kynrang, forbidden fields, holy forest. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlaw Blei, forest of the god, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property, this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service.

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /UK/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was rang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses.

In the case of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (9) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is

9. Im Strontal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes rang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

● 923 possession of a couple of orange gardens which a thlen worshipper
784 had abandoned, as the former did not believe in ghosts. (9)

9. Ibid., p. 82.

923
784
797 In the case of all these pieces of ground which are considered
sang, the fear of the severe punishment of the gods prevents each
owner from building. If another builds, he does not stop him, be-
cause he leaves him to the revenge of the insulted god. As may be
seen from the case mentioned, the /137/ heathen are at a disadvan-
tage in respect to their compatriots who have turned to Christianity.
The latter no longer feel tied to the heathen laws, at least as far
as religion is involved and no longer share their fears in many things.
Impoverished Khasi Christians thus find an opportunity to acquire
land in cases when it would not be possible for a Khasi who is still
held captive by animistic beliefs.

But among the latter there are also disgraceful exceptions. In
Nongbah, a larger village of the Jaintia Mountains with perhaps 400
huts -- therefore the name, which means large village -- several
years ago a heathen observed with a jealous eye how so many pieces
of the fallow fields of the gods were changed into fertile lands under
the hands of the Christians. The wish grew in him to do likewise.
Although he no longer had much fear of his gods, he still had to
reckon with the anger and revenge of the members of his clan, if he
as a heathen dared to take such a step. They were not likely to dare
to do anything against Christians. Without further ado he became
converted to the Methodist religion and appeared before the English
government official in Jowai, the capital of the Jaintia Mountains,
for the transfer of a suitable piece of land. After the revolt of the
Syteng in the year 1862, the English government pronounced the
whole territory of the Jaintia Mountains to be government land. They
also claim the right of bestowal of all free-lying land, usually by a
lease of many years. Since the government receives rent for the
land, it is in its interest when applicants appear. In this case the
deed of conveyance was issued and over the years a flourishing rice
field was made from the land that had been useless up to now. Now
that the renter was sure of his affairs, he turned his back on the
Methodists in order to become a heathen again and to participate in
the heathen sacrifices. But then he got into trouble. The heathen
were incensed at such a game and brought serious charges before the
English government official. He ruled that in the future no piece
of ground of that type /138/ should be leased except upon

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all.

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead.

(Continuation follows)

/306/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion.

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongshen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umlang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

778 423 613 777 of your clan; you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/, for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes. You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you: I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umliang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 reichsmarks a year.

The family clan Umliang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the war had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacob U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid.

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlau sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thepmaubah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *maubah* (ossuary of a clan).

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*phar*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwidnia*), water (*puri*) and hills (*Kwidlum*) and observance of mouring for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements.

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families.

Sub-clan (*Ka-k'pen*)—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *sibam** in honour of the dead grandmother, profund sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thepmaubah* bind the members together.

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshun, Nongpriang, and Diengsaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Kongton, there are no common (village) or clan land: every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Kongton possesses land. Some of the richer households lend the land while some of the poorer households lease it. The rate for leases is Rs. 90/- per year for an area where one maund (80 lbs.) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The pan-leaf gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. 3/- per day.

In Sohkynduh, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkynduh village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkynduh were said to be the people belonging to the Prarian clan (See Lists 6 and 7). It seems that when the Prarian came to this site, the land already belonged to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkynduh. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkynduh is divided into four sections according to the locality:

1. Lum Sohkynduh
2. Sohliang
3. Mawkhalai
4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkynduh belongs to the Prarian clan. The rest of Lum Sokynduh, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phrensing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sokynduh. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynshah clan, 32 of List 6) privately. The Prarian and Dkhar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. 80/- to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynshah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkynduh belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner.

Gurdon explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 423 614 lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house '*ka iing khadduh*,' or last house, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka sig seng*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 88).

178 423 428 614 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family (precisely, *iing*, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmentation, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the youngest daughter, the heiress entitled to the property. In course of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fissions of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matrilineal descendants of the women who first owned the land. In this sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by the individual family (*iing*, descent group). This Khasi conception of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private ownership of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the population (see p. 112). In such circumstances, it seems that even the land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynduh, the maternal uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1) when the members of the descent group remain in the same community for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to accomodate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

178 423 428

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majorit have been impoverihed, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy ones or for ad construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has beun to appear in the community.

Thoughthe recent economic depression brought poverty to Jatinga, the
182 standard o living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes.
245 Studying sch economic aspects of Jatinga, I wondered at first why these neighbourig tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employ-
648 ment at Janga: why, looking at the prosperity of Jatinga, they did not adopt the way ofhe Jatinga people?

Indeed ome of them attempted to imitate the Jatinga economy, but the results wer unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange culvations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite ifferent from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivationrequires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for peoplewho have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instane, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put o special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf diseas. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardy keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having spcialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On theother hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pa>leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capit to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash incone nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were ableto raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] managemet of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhun field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful household. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, dopting the technique of the Jatinga people. This was around 1942 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, whe their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jatinga and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Beside oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaas, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jatinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have been much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples
44 who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
648 In this cae it is the Jatinga people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Haflong bazaar, and without making a profit: it s just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 109 A] AR7 Khasi AR7

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

241 464 2·10 **Labour and Wages:** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

241 464 465

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people haye to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less then usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to eng ge the number of hands they want at very low rates Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also. prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 639 2. 11 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid unifrom or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliabe statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [651] I. **Rikynti or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Couucil has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

trade. Rikynti are mostly found in the higher hills region—the area between War (southern portion of the district roughly the border area) and Bhoi and constitutes a major portion of the total area of land in Shillong subdivision. In Jowai subdivision private lands are very small in area, only 7,266 acres in total and they are known as 'Biniaj'. 423

II. **Raj Lands.**—They are lands belonging to nobody. It can be said to be a common property which everybody has a right to use, of course with necessary permission from 'Village Raj' in respect of Raj lands under the village or from Syiem in respect of Raj lands under the Syiem. In case of Raj lands the land continues to be in possession of one so long as he cultivates there but as soon as he ceases cultivation it reverts back to the Raj. The land which is known in the official term as unclassed State forests is also Raj land but is under the control of the District Council.

Raj lands are found every where in the district though the major portion is found in Bhoi area and in his area for purpose of cultivation permission is given to any Khasi from any part of the district, while elsewhere in the district, this is confined to the local people only.

III. **Land under Zamindars.**—In War area in both subdivisions here are some big land holders who are locally known as zamindars. There is no record of the number of such zamindaries nor the amount of land held by them. These lands provide suitable sites for cultivation of valuable cash crops like betel-nut, orange, betel-leaf, tezpata and other fruits. The petty landlords are not at all powerful nor it is customary to exploit the tenants. Generally, the landlord leases out of his land on long term basis and the rent is either fixed in cash or in kind and the rate varies according to the fertility of the soil and other conveniences from all points of view On the average the rent per year is 10% of the produce in case of betel-nut, Rs. 40·00 per acre of land per term (usually 5 to 6 years) in case of betel-leaf cultivation and for wet paddy cultivation if the land is very fertile the produce is shared in the rate 50: 50 otherwise 1 : 2 between the landlord and the tenants. For other crops, generally the rent is negligible or nil.

IV. Besides lands under the above main three categories there are also lands which are under control and management of the State Forest Department and the District Council of United K.-J. Hills.

(*a*) **Forest reserve under Assam Forest Regulation VII, 1891.**— There are forests belonging to Government under the control of the State Forest Department. There are five numbers in total, three of them are in Shillong subdivision covering a total area 32,188 acres and two in Jowai subdivision covering an area of 76,961 acres. The total area is 1,09,149 acres, *i.e.*, 170·5 sq. miles. 423 659 648

(*b*) **Forest reserve under executive orders of Government.** These forests are also under the control of the same Department reserved for the purpose of beautification, etc. There are only five of them within the Shillong subdivision and around the town of Shillong The total area covered is 2,636 acres only, *i. e.*, about 4 sq. miles.

423 659 648 (c) **Green Blocks.**—These green forests are private forest but protected and managed by the Department for the purpose of retaining the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of 2·24 sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(d) **Private protected Forests.**—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 16 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than 24·79 sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of 44·9 sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests.**—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 2 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than 73·05 sq. miles. There are altogether 52 numbers of such forests, 30 of them with an area of more than 57·05 sq. miles and are in Shillong subdivision and 22 numbers with an area of 16 sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

423 651 648 2.11.1. **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System).**—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 9 above which have been brought under wet paddy cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenues is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class 1 hali lands, class 11 hali lands and class 111 hali lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Re. 0.50 to Re. 0.87 per bigha per year. There are altogether 28,683 plots covering a total area of 19,709 acres. No such revenue exists in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement accompanied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—An annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Saitsohpen villages, where there are 169 holdings covering a total area of 86 acres with a total revenue of Rs. 505·72 per year.

Seven pieces of land in Burnihat used by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of 182·09 acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. 550·81. A revenue of Rs. 2. only per year is collected from two building sites at Nongpoh station whose area is 29,861 sq ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of 131 acres of land in Lakadong and Satpator Dolloiship and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. 255·44.

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subacherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period. After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan.

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non-Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops.

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	,,
Other cereals	1,000	,,
Potato	21,600	,,
Chillies	350	,,
Sweet potato	5,400	,,
Linseed	180	,,
Cotton	50	,,
Tobacco	600	,,
Arecanut	13,455	,,
Orange	20,000	,,
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unemployment among the border people. There being no market for the produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of familes who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Nongjri	87	357·86	4·11
2. Shella	9	175·40	19·40
3. Bholaganj	15	108·00	7·20
4. Balat	2	13·50	6·75
5. Mawdon	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	5	85·00	17·00
7. Darrang	16	568·75	35·55
8. Syndai	3	43·33	14·44
9. Amki	8	40·67	5·08
10. Umshnong	nil	..	..

A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Border area, Project area and General area are 51, 61 and 70 p. c. respectively of the total families. Classifying the wholly agricultural families and families pursuing agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families—the proportion of such families for Border area, Project area and General area stand at 68 p. c. 76 p.c. and 90 p.c. respectively. Thus it is clear that in the Border area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the set-back received due to closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables C·10 and C.11 below and table C.11.1 at the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Border area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural enterprise especially labour (non-agricultural).

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups— Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows—

*162
241
• 423
463
427

TABLE C-9

Classification of Predominantly Agricultural Families

Type	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Non-cultivating owner..	25 (5·67)	6 (2·61)	31 (4·57)	.. ..	4 (1·23)	4 (0·82)	.. ..	.. ..	...
2. Owner cultivator (owning 75 per cent or more of farm land).	375 (85·52)	98 (42·61)	473 (69·66)	128 (17·58)	175 (54·01)	303 (61·96)	70 (88·37)	64 (77·11)	134 (81·21)
3. Tenant (owning less than 25 per cent of farm land).	8 (1·78)	73 (31·74)	81 (11·93)	14 (3·48)	51 (15·74)	65 (13·29)	3 (3·69)	7 (8·43)	10 (6·06)
4. Part owner and part tenant (owning between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of farm land.	7 (1·56)	19 (8·26)	26 (3·83)	15 (7·09)	21 (6·48)	36 (7·37)	1 (1·23)	5 (6·02)	10 (6·06)
5. Landless agricultural labourer.	34 (7·47)	34 (14·78)	68 (10·01)	8 (4·65)	73 (22·53)	81 (16·56)	4 (4·87)	7 (8·43)	11 (6·67)
Total ...	449 (100·00)	230 (100·00)	679 (100·00)	165 (100·00)	324 (100·00)	489 (100·00)	81 (100·00)	83 (100·00)	165 (100·00)

Apart from private lands, Raj lands possessed by a family and land possessed through settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of this survey. Tenants usually take in rent from land-owners only those lands which are possessed by the later as private land or through settlement through District Council. A perusal of table C 9 given above will show that proportion of tenants are higher in Jowai subdivision which is due to the existence in this subdivision of some big landholders who are known as zamindars. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labour families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and part-owner and part-tenant families also there are some whose major income is derived from agricultural labour. Consideration of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proportion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high.

TABLE C10

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture

principal occupation	Number of families: Rural area — Total	Rural area — P.C. to total	Project area — Total	Project area — P.C. to total	General area — Total	General area — P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]
2. Service, profession, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	8	[illegible]
3. Trader.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	5	[illegible]
6. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..
Total ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER VI

LAND

6.1 The total area covered by the sample villages is not available for want of relevant village records as the district is not culturally surveyed for settlement purposes. Having no alternative on matters of land and land utilisation pertaining to a family we had to depend entirely on the accounts given by family concerned. However, every care was taken to ensure reliability and in a number of cases accounts of land given by families were verified by actual measurements. In most cases they were found to tally approximately. To simplify matters land referred hereafter relates only to agricultural land.

HOLDING

6.2 "Holding" usually means the land over which the individual or family has permanent and heritable right of occupancy. Due to peculiar land tenure system prevailing in this district, an account of which has already been given in the introductory chapter, this definition had to be modified to fit in with the system obtaining in the district and accordingly the holding of an individual or family was meant to comprise of all lands held as private property or held under Raj System or under settlement through District Council.

The total area covered by land holdings of all sizes in the Border area, Project area and General area samples are respectively 8366.42 acres, 1891.42 acres and 613.24 acres and with 1806, 647 and 184 families in the respective sample. The average size of holding per family works out respectively at 5.3 acres, 2.9 acres, and 3.3 acres in Border area, Project area and General area and holding per head 1.40 acres, 0.63 acres and 0.70 acres respectively. The real situation on the structure of family holding, however, will be better understood from an examination of the distribution of the holdings according to their size as presented in the following table.

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TABLE-D1

Distribution of families by size of Holding Groups

Size of holding group	Buffer area				Project area				General area			
	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (in acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1 No land	199 (30·72)	..	..	...	183 (28·39)	...	...	...	19 (20·21)	..	..	..
2 Less than 1 acre ..	82 (9·15)	0·7	71	44·99	59 (9·12)	0·31	58	0·50	19 (20·21)	0·55	19	0·55
3 Less than 3 acres ..	173 (17·88)	1·95	146	1·44	190 (29·37)	1·96	187	1·64	64 (34·78)	1·81	64	1·68
4 3 to less than 10 .. acres	250 (25·84)	5·03	238	4·01	169 (26·12)	5.06	166	4·49	72 (39·13)	5·02	74	4·56
5 10 acres & above	183 (19·09)	19·35	176	11·61	46 (6·80)	15·85	44	10·57	10 (5·43)	12·33	10	9·95
Total no. of families possessing land	657 (69·28)	2·10	631	5·15	463 (71·41)	4·09	453	3·41	165 (89·67)	3·72	164	3·21
Grand Total	1046 (100·00)	5·33			647 (100·00)	2·22			184 (100·00)	3·23		

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

It is seen from the above table that proportion of landless families was quite high in Border area and Project area accounting for 31 and 29 per cent of the total number of families in the respective area, against 10 in the General area. Considering holdings in general and classifying them as small holdings (if less than 3 acres), medium holding (if 3 acres to less than 10 acres) and large holdings (if 10 acres and above), the proportion of families holding land in the three holding groups is found to be respectively 56 per cent, 26 per cent and 18 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent 26, per cent and 7 per cent in Project area and 55 per cent, 39 per cent and 6 per cent in General area.

Considering only the families holding land as will be evident from table D1.1 in the appendix in Border area, the proportions of families in the three holding groups, *i.e.*, small, medium and large are respectively 37%, 37% and 26% of the families holding land while for Project area they are 54%, 37% and 9% and for General area 50%, 44% and 6% respectively.

As to the area covered by the three holding groups in the Border area, Project area and General area, the small holding cover respectively 6 per cent 19 per cent and 21 per cent of the total agricultural land medium holdings cover respectively 28 per cent, 45 per cent and 59 per cent, and the large holding cover 66·32 per cent, 35·50 per cent and 20.42 per cent respectively. Thus in Border area 37 per cent of the families holding land own only 6 per cent of the total agricultural land in the villages while in Project area 54 per cent of the families own 19 per cent in the land and in General area 50 per cent of the families own 21 per cent of total land. As a result the individual holdings under the small holding group are small measuring between 0·24 acres to 2·26 acres in Border area, 0·25 acres to 2·28 acres in Project area and 0·25 acres to 2·30 acres in General area. The average size of holdings per family in the small holding group in the three areas are respectively 1·36 acres, 1·47 acres and 1·55 acres as compared with 5·63 acres, 4·05 acres and 5·02 acres in the medium holding group and 19·55 acres, 15·25 acres and 12·53 acres in large holding group. Average size of holding per family holding land in Border area, Project area and General area comes to respectively 7·70 acres, 4·09 acres and 3·72 acres. However considering cultivated holdings only as will be shown by Table D1.1 at the appendix, the above figures stand at 5·15 acres, 3.41 acres and 3·21 acres respectively crystalising the fact that a considerable portion of land is either left fallow or leased out to others.

The following table will throw light on the point.

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TABLE D2

village group	No. of families holding land	Total area of holding (acres)	No. of families renting out land	Area leased out (acres)	No. of families cultivating owned land	Area cultivated (acres)	Area left fallow	Percentage to col. 3
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	697	5366·42	39	251·41	631	3238·66	1876·35	34·96
2. Project area	462	1891·42	27	91·56	453	1543·56	256·30	13·55
3. General area	165	613·24	5	16·75	164	526·45	70·04	11·41

Thus it is seen that of the owned land at least 35 per cent in Border area, 14 per cent in Project area and 11 per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Border area villages as many as 66 families had either totally leased out or left fallow their owned land, the corresponding number for Project area and General area being only 9 and 1 respectively.

TABLE D3

Number of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

162*
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423
463

Size of holding (acre)	No. of families				
	wholly agricultural	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Independent of agriculture	All occupations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. BORDER AREA					
1. No land ..	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (33·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (30·72)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·39)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·15)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	37 (30·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
4. 3 to less than 10 acre	144 (28·18)	57 (33,92)	48 (26.23)	11 (7·64)	260 (25·85)
5. 10 and above ..	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Total	511 (100·00)	168 (100·00)	183 (100·00)	144 (100·00)	1006) (100·00
2. (Project area)					
2. No land	115 (29·19)	9 (9·47)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1 acre.. ..	40 (10·15)	8 (8·43)	11 (10·18)	..	59 (9·12)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	111 (28·17)	32 (33·68)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·33)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	113 (28·68)	29 (30·53)	26 (24.07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
5. 10 acres and above..	15 (3·81)	17 (18·09)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Total ..	394 (100.00)	95 (100·00)	108 (100·00)	50 (100·00)	647 (100·00)

TABLE B3 *(contd.)*

(1)	(2)	(3)		(5)	(6)
3. General area—					
1. No land	15 (11·72)	1 (2·70)	(11·76)	1 (50·00)	19 (10·33)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	9 (7·03)	4 (10·81)	5 (29·41)	1 (50.00)	19 (10·33)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	47 (36·71)	10 (27·03)	7 (41·19)	..	64 (34·78)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	52 (40·63)	17 (45·91)	3 (17·64)	..	72 (39·13)
5. 10 acres and above	5 (3·91)	5 (13·52)	...	... ..	10 (5·43)
Total ..	128 100·00	37 100·00	17 100·00	2 100·00	184 100·00

6.3 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable propertion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occuption or independent of agriculture hold land of varicus sizes. The fact why agriculture for those families who possessed sufficient land, was reduced to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to less return from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

6.4 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render their holdings un-economic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer most from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) or inheritance legislations or such other factors as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement regulation and the people are free to reclaim as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated patches.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

TABLE D-4

Distribution of holdings according to number of fragments.

182
311
423

No. of fragments	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	155	22.24	189	40.91	31	18.79
2	147		122		52	..
3	122	58.68	68		45	78.79
4	83		35	53.68	22	...
5	37		23		11	..
6	44		13		1	..
7	25		4	4	2	2.42
8	30	15.35	2	..	..	..
9	11		2			..
10	7		..		1	..
11	11		2			..
12	3		1			..
13	1		..			..
14	4	3.73	1	0.86	...	..
15	1		..			..
16	1		—			..
17	..		...			..
18	..		..			..
19	1		..			..
20	2		...			—
21 & above	0		..			..
Total.. ..	697	100	462	100	195	100

311 The total number of fragments in 697 holding in Border area
423 is 2,540 giving an average of 3.64 fragments per holding, that in
182 462 holdings in project area is 1,080 which gives on the average 2.34 fragment per holding, while in General area 165 holdings comprise of 443 fragments, *i.e.*, 2.68 fragment per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.61, 4.50, 4.40 and 3.73 per holding in Mikir Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in Mikir Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table D4.1 at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 3 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.99 in Border, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average sizes in the corresponding holding group being 1.36 acres 1.47 acres and 1.55 acres, in Border area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at ·68 acres, ·92 and ·76 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average sizes of fragments for medium holding group are, in Border area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 5.63 acres) in Project area 1.85 acres (averages size of holding 4.95 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 5.02 acres), those for large holding group being 3.15 acres, 3.06 acres and 3.49 acres respectively against the average large holding sizes of 19.55 acres, 15.25 acres and 12.53 acres in the respective area.

FARMS

241 6.5 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most
592 cases the family farm. Functions, entrepreneur, capital and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[128] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguised from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned possesses right of occupancy and inheritance.

TABLE D-6

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

241
423
427

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area—				
Small farms				
Less than 3 acres ..	255 (76.12)	65 (19.40)	15 (4.38)	335 (100·00)
Medium farms— 3 to less than 10 acres	229 (72.70)	53 (16.83)	33 (10.47)	315 (100·00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	90 (82.57)	10 (9.11)	9 (9.26)	109 (100·00)
Total ..	574	128	57	759
..	(75.66)	(16.86)	(7.51)	(100.00)
B. Project area—				
Small farm—				
Less than 3 acres ...	196 (70.50)	43 (15.47)	39 (14.03)	278 (100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres ..	161 (78.82)	13 (6.40)	29 (14.48)	203 (100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	26 (86.67)	2 (6.67)	2 (6.66)	30 (100.00)
Total	382 (72.80)	58 (11.35)	71 (15.85)	511 (100.00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

TABLE D-6 (*concld.*)

Distributing for farms according to size and ownership

241
423
427

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area—				
Small farms—				
Less than 3 acres ..	.. 75	5	11	91
	(82.42)	(5.49)	(12.02)	(100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres	.. 65	2	5	72
	(90.28)	(2.78)	(6.94)	(100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	.. 7	..	1	8
	(47.50)	..	(12.50)	(100.00)
Total	.. 147	7	17	171
	(85.96)	(4.10)	(9.94)	(100.00)

TABLE D-7

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Area in acres

Size of farms	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly Owned and partly rented			Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
			Owned area	Rented area	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area—								
Small farm— (less than 3 acres)	318·66	85·50	14·78	27·23	42·01	333·44	112·73	446·17
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres)	1206·63	263·34	94·31	86·95	181·26	1300·94	350·29	1651.23
farms— (10 acreas and above)	1545·28	132·25	59·00	80·25	139·25	1604·28	212·50	1816·78
Total	3070·57	481·09	168·09	194·43	362·52	3238·66	675·52	3914·18
	(78·45)	(12·29)	(4·29)	(4·97)		(82·74)	(17·26)	(100·00)

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427

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L23
L41

TABLE D-7 (*concld.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	305·12	59·29	28·47	41·58	70·05	333·59	100·87	434·46
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres) — --	790·56	47·15	59·39	77·21	136·60	849·95	124·36	974·31
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	324·77	23·00	35·25	17·00	52·25	360·02	40·00	400·02
Total	1420·45	129·44	123·11	135·79	258·90	1543·56	265·23	1808·79
	(78·53)	(7·16)	(6·81)	(7·50)		(85·34)	(14·66)	(100·00)
C. General area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	126·08	7·25	8·57	9·25	17·82	134·65	16·50	151·15
Medium farms— (3 acres to less than 10 acres) ...	300·07	8·00	7·73	16·86	24·57	307·80	24·86	332·66
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	80·00	—	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total	506·15	15·25	20·30	34·11	54·39	526·45	49·36	575·81
	(87·90)	(2·65)	(3·53)	(5·92)	(100·00)	(91·43)	(8·57)	(100·00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

241
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From the above tables it is evident that for all the areas in each size group small, medium and large, a high proportion of the farms (*i.e.*, in total 76 per cent in Border area, 78 per cent in Project area and 86 per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area covered by those wholly owned farms also constitutes almost similar high proportions (*i.e.*, 79 per cent in Border area, 79 per cent in Project area and 88 per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to 3238·66 acres (83 per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, 1543·56 acres (85 per cent) in Project area and 526·45 acres (91 per cent) in General area. Of this total owned area, in Border area nearly 95 per cent is covered by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively 92 per cent and 96 per cent of the total owned area are covered by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for renting in Border area constitutes 17 per cent of the total farm land amounting to 675·52 acres of which 71 per cent is under wholly rented farm and 29 per cent under partly owned farm, in Project area total area available for renting constitutes 15 per cent (*i.e.*, 265·23 acres) of the total farm area of which 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively are under wholly rented and partly owned farms while in General area 8·57 per cent (49·26 acres) of the total farm area are available for renting of which respectively 31 per cent and 69 per cent are covered by wholly rented and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table D-7, that total rented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 675·52 acres, 265·23 acres and 49·36 acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table D-2 which are respectively 251.41 acres, 91·56 acres and 16·75 acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken in rent by the villagers belong to some right-holders who live outside the village.

19: Assam G-S (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 243 871 489 482 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen [562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 *162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 • 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cents of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

accounting for 42, 24 and 38 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 46, 22 and 16 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 18, 7 and 5 per cent of the families of the respective areas.

The average size of family holding worked out at 7.7 acres for Border area, 4·1 acres for Project area and 3·7 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5·1, 3·4 and 3·3 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 759, 611 and 171 covering respectively 3914·18 acres, 1808·79 acres, and 575·81 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 5·16 acres in Border area, 3·54 acres in Project area and 2·28 acres in General area.

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table.

Name of Farms Owners	Surplus Area			Deficit Area			General Area		
	P. C. of Farms Owned	P. C. of Area (Acres)	Average Size (Acres)	P. C. of Farms	P. C. of Area	Average Size (Acres)	P. C. of Farms	P. C. of Area	Average Size (Acres)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Small Farms (less than 5 Acres).									
2. Medium Farms (over 5 to less than 50 Acres).									
3. Large Farms (over 50 Acres).									
Total									

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

10.6. Of the total of 719 farms in Border area, 76 per cent were wholly owned, 17 per cent were wholly rented and the remaining 7 per cent were partly owned and partly rented. In Project area, proportions of wholly owned, wholly rented and partly owned and partly rented farms were found to be 73 per cent, 14 per cent and 13 per cent respectively while those in General area were respectively 86 per cent, 4 per cent and 10 per cent of the total number of farms. Of the total farm area, owned area accounted for in Border area 83 per cent, in Project area 85 per cent and in General area 91 per cent of the total farm area in the respective area. Of the total owned area nearly 95 per cent in Border area, 98 per cent in Project area and 98 per cent in General area were covered by wholly owned farms and the rests by partly owned farms. Of the total rented area, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 91 per cent, 49 per cent and 91 per cent are covered by wholly rented farms.

10.7. Out of 1066 families in Border area, 610, *i.e.* 62 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs.157·34 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs. 251·25 nP. In Project area out of 647 families 332, *i.e.*, 50 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 139·35 nP. and that per indebted family Rs.272·60 nP. In General area out of 184 families, 52, *i.e.* 28 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 54·09 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs. 190·00 nP. of the total indebted families. Predominantly agricultural families constituted the highest proportion in all the three areas, being 78 per cent in Border area, 77 per cent in Project area and 98 per cent in General area accounting respectively for 87 per cent, 70 per cent and 99 per cent of the total amount of debt in the three areas. Majority of the loans were of small amount inasmuch as in Border area 90 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs 200·00, average size of these loans being only Rs. 69·25 nP. In Project area 71 per cent and in General area 72 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 200·00, average size of these loans being respectively Rs. 66·80 and Rs. 99·29 only. Of the total number of loans 67 per cent in Border area, 81 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area were of less than 3 years standing. Majority of the loans in Border and Project areas were found to be incurred for productive purposes. In General area 53 per cent of the loans were contracted for maintenance of the family.

Government and other professional and semiprofessional money lenders emerged out to be the predominant sources of rural credit. In Border area loans from Government constituted 82 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 53 per cent of the total amount of loans followed by those from money lenders which worked out at 15 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 41 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area respectively 80 per cent and 78 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 20 per cent and 94 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area were contracted from private money lenders while Government loans constituted in Project area 65 per cent and in General area 17 per cent of the total number of loans accounting respectively for 36 per cent and 61 per cent of the total amount of loans in the respective area.

TABLE D-I-I--(contd.)

Distribution of holdings by size group (area in acre)

Size of the holding	No. of holdings	Total area under the groups	Average size of the holdings	No. of the cultivated holding	Total cultivated area	Average size
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Border area :						
1. Less than 1/3 acre... ...	20 (2·87)	4·80	24	19	4·30	0·23
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre ...	10 (2·73)	6·98 (0·72)	0·37	18	6·33	0·35
3. 1/3 „ „ „ 1 acre ...	43 (6·17)	26·96	0·63	34	20·53	0·60
4. 1 „ „ „ 2 „ ...	90 (12·91)	117·18 (2·18)	1·30	76	76·26	1·00
5. 2 „ „ „ 3 „ ...	83 (11·91)	187·93 (3·50)	2·26	70	133·39	1·91
Small holding	255 (36·59)	343·33 (6·40)		217	240·81	1·11
6. 3 holding less than 5 acres ...	101 (14·63)	366·87 (6·84)	3·60	89	250·81	2·82
7. 5 „ „ „ 10 „ ...	158 (22·67)	1096·87 (20·44)	6·94	149	704·27	4·73
Medium holding	260 (37·30)	1463·74 (27·28)	5·63	238	955·08	4·01
8. 10 holding less than 25 acres...	152 (21·81)	2247·00 (41·87)	14·78	146	1368·56	9·37
9. 25 „ „ „ 50 „ ...	24 (3·44)	832·60 (15·51)	34·69	24	424·46	17·69
10. 50 and above	6 (0·86)	479·25 (8·94)	79·87	6	249·75	41·63
Large holding	182 (26·11)	3558·85 (66·32)	19·55	176	2042·77	11·61
Total	697 (100·00)	5366·42 (100·00)	7·70	631	3238·66	5·13

N.B. Figures within brackets indicate percentage.

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124

TABLE D—1·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		(P. C.)		(P. C.)				
B. Project area—								
1. Less than 1/3 acre	13	(2·81)	3·25		·25	·12	3·25	·25
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre.	9	(1·95)	3·04	(1·59)	·34	·29	3·04	·34
3. 1/2 to less than 1 acre.	37	(8·01)	23·82		·64	·34	21·82	·64
4. 1 to less than 2 acres.	97	(21·00)	122·63	(6·48)	1·26	·97	117·37	1·21
5. 2 to less than 3 acres.	93	(20·13)	212·27	(11·22)	2·28	·90	189·54	2·11
Small holding	249	(53·90)	365·01	(19·29)	1·47	2·43	335·03	1·38

TABLE D-I·1—(cont.)

(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	(6)	(7)	
6. 5 to less than 5 acres.	92	(19·91)	231·62	(17.53)	3·60	..	89	294·89	5.81	..
7. 5 to less than 10 acres.	77	(16·67)	523·60	(27·68)	6·80	..	77	451·24	5.86	..
Medium holding	169	(36·58)	855·22	(45·21)	5·06	..	166	746·13	4·49	..
8. 10 to less than 25 acres.	41	(8·87)	579·83	(30·66)	14·14	..	41	413·62	10·09	..
9. 25 less than 50 acres.	3	(·65)	91·57	(4·84)	30·61	..	3	48·78	16·26	..
Large farm ..	44	(9·52)	671·19	(35·50)	15·25	..	44	462·40	10·51	..
Total ...	462	(100·00)	1891·42	(100·00)	4·09	..	453	1543·56	3·41	

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123

TABLE D-1·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(P. C.)	(3)	(P. C.)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
C. General area :—								
1. Less than 1/3 acre	3	(1·82)	·75		·25	3	·75	·25
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre	2	(1·21)	1·00	(1·71)	0·50	2	·00	·50
3. 1/2 to less than 1 acre	14	(8·48)	8·76		·63	14	8·26	·59
4. 1 to less than 2 acres.	35	(21·24)	49·20	(8·02)	1·41	35	45·00	1·29
5. 2 to less than 3 acres.	29	(17·58)	66·80	(10·89)	2·30	29	62·55	2·16
Small holding	83	(50·30)	126·51	(20·63)	1·35	83	117·56	1·42
6. 3 to less than 5 acres.	45	(27·27)	174·99	(28·54)	3·89	44	160·28	3·64
7. 5 to less than 10 acres.	27	(16·36)	186·49	(30·41)	6·91	27	149·11	5·52
Medium holding —	72	(43·64)	361·48	(58·95)	5·02	71	309·39	4·35
8. 10 to less than 25 acres.	10	(6·06)	125·25	(20·42)	12·53	10	99·50	9·95
Large holding —	10	(6·06)	125·25	(20·42)	12·53	10	99·50	9·95
Total	165	(100·00)	613·24	(100·00)	3·72	164	526·45	3·21

TABLE D-3·1

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
A. Border area —					
1. O	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (33·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (32·72)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	13 (2·54)	1 (0·60)	6 (3·28)	..	20 (1·98)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	14 (2·74)	1 (0·60)	4 (2·19)	..	19 (1·88)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ..	24 (4·70)	9 (5·36)	9 (4·92)	1 (0·69)	43 (5·27)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·59)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·13)
5. 1 less than 2 acres ..	44 (8·61)	17 (10·12)	19 (10·38)	10 (60·94)	90 (8·95)
6. 2 less than 3 acres ..	44 (8·61)	13 (7·74)	18 (9·84)	9 (5·57)	83 (8·25)
Less than 3 acres (Total)	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	57 (30·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	54 (10·57)	26 (15·48)	18 (9·84)	4 (2·78)	102 (10·14)
8. 5 less than 10 acres ..	90 (17·61)	31 (18·44)	30 (16·39)	7 (4·86)	158 (15·71)
Medium holding	144 (28·18)	57 (33·92)	48 (25·23)	11 (7·64)	200 (25·85)
9. 10 less than 25 acres	104 (20·85)	30 (17·86)	15 (8·19)	3 (2·08)	152 (15·11)
10. 25 less than 50 acres ..	13 (2·54)	8 (4·76)	3 (1·64)	...	24 (2·39)
11. 50 and above	3 (0·58)	3 (1·78)	..	...	6 (0·60)
Large holding	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Grand Total ..	511(100·00)	168(100·00)	183(100·00)	144(100·00)	1006(100·00)

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TABLE D-3·1—(contd.)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
B. Project area —					
1. O	115 (29·11)	9 (9·58)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00)	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	9 (2·28)	1 (1·06)	3 (2·78)	..	13 (2·01)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	4 (1·01)	3 (3·29)	2 (1·85)	..	9 (1·39)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ..	27 (6·82)	4 (4·26)	6 (5·55)	..	37 (5·72)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	40 (10·13)	8 (8·51)	11 (10·18)	.	59 (9·13)
5. 1 less than 2	64 (16·20)	13 (13·83)	19 (17·59)	1 (2·00)	97 (14·99)
6. 2 less than 3	48 (12·15)	18 (19·15)	25 (23·25)	2 (4·00)	93 (14·37)
Less than 3 acres (Total) ...	112 (28·35)	31 (32.98)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·36)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	80 (15·19)	18 (19·15)	14 (12·96)	..	92 (14·22)
8. 5 less than 10 acres ..	53 (13·42)	11 (11·70)	12 (11·11)	1 (2·00)	77 (11·90)
Medium holding (Total) ...	113 (28·61)	29 (30·85)	26 (47·07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
9. 10 less than 25 acre ..	14 (3·54)	16 (17·02)	11 (10·19)	..	41 (6·34)
10. 25 less than 50 acre ..	1 (0·26)	1 (1·06)	1 (0·93)	..	3 (0·47)
11. 50 and above					
Large holding (Total)	15 (3·80)	17 (18·08)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Grand Total ..	395(100·00.	94(10·00)	108(100·00)	50(1000·00)	917(100·00)

TABLE D-3·1—(contd)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes.

Size of holding (1)	Wholly Agricultural (2)	Agriculture as Principal occupation (3)	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation (4)	Inpedent of agriculture (5)	Total (6)
C. General area —					
1. O	15 (11·72)	1 (2·70)	2 (11·76)	1 (50·00)	18 (10·33)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	2 (1·56)	1 (2·70)	..	..	3 (1·63)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	1 (0·78)	..	..	1 (50·00)	2 (1·09)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ...	6 (4·69)	3 (8·11)	5 (29·41)	..	14 (7·61)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	9 (7·06)	4 (10·81)	5 (29·41)	1 (50·00)	19 (10·33)
5. 1 less than 2	27 (21·09)	4 (10·81)	4 (23·54)	..	35 (19·02)
6. 2 less than 3 acres ..	20 (15·63)	6 (16·62)	3 (17·65)	..	29 (15·76)
Less than 3 acres (Total)	47 (36·78)	10 (27·03)	7 (41·19)	..	64 (34·78)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	35 (27·34)	8 (21·62)	2 (11·76)	..	45 (24·46)
8. 5 less than 10 acres ..	17 (13·28)	9 (24·32)	1 (5·88)	..	27 (14·67)
Medium holding	52 (41·62)	17 (45·94)	3 (17·64)	...	72 (39·13)
9. 10 less than 25 acres	5 (3·91)	5 (13·52)	..	..	10 (5·43)
10. 25 less than 50 acres	—	..	..	—	..
11. 50 and above	..	...	..	..	..
Large holding	5 (13·91)	5 (13·52)	..	..	10 (5·43)
Grand Total ..	128(100·00)	37(100·00)	17(100·00)	2·(100·00)	184(100·00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

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TABLE D-4·1

Distribution of holdings according to size and no. of fragments

Size of holdings	No. of fragment (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
A. BORDER AREA											
1. Below 1/3 acre	18	1	1	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. 1/3 to below 1/2 acre	14	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	21	15	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. 1 to below 2 acres	32	22	21	10	5	.	..	..	..	..	..
5. 2 to below 3 acres	29	14	14	9	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. 3 to below 5 acres	20	37	13	14	7	7	4	..	..	..	..
7. 5 to below 10 acres	6	38	34	34	17	17	3	3	3	..	2
8. 10 to below 25 acres	5	23	29	15	21	19	16	13	7	4	5
9. 25 to below 50 acres	..	2	4	..	..	..	3	4	..	2	3
10. 50 and above	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
Total No. of holding	165 (22·24)	147 (21·09)	122 (17·51)	83 (11·91)	57 (8·18)	44 (6·31)	25 (3·69)	20 (2·87)	11 (1·58)	7 (1·00)	11 (1·58)
Total No. of Fragments	165	294	366	332	285	264	175	160	99	70	121

TABLE D-4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holdings	(12)	(13)	No. of fragments (14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	21 and above	Total No. of holding	Total No. of fragments	Total area under the size	Average size of fragments
A. BORDER AREA														
1. Below 1/3 acre	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30 (3·44)	33	4·60	3·1
2. 1/3 to below 1/2 acre	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19 (3·72)	36	6·65	·18
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45 (5·12)	95	38·94	0·75
4. 1 to below 2 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	280 (12·99)	254	117·18	0·83
5. 2 to below 3 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	89 (12·91)	180	227·93	1·04
6. 3 to below 5 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	105 (16·51)	234	356·97	1·75
7. 5 to below 10 acres	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150 (23·73)	413	1068·97	1·79
8. 10 acres below 25 acres	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	103 (31·55)	345	2267·60	2·60
9. 25 acres to below 50 acres	..	..	2	..	3	1	3	..	..	..	24 (7·41)	214	832·60	3·85
10. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	6 (7·83)	60	479·05	7·95
Total No. of holding	..	..	5 (0·72)	1 (0·14)	4 (0·57)	1 (0·14)	1 (0·14)	1 (0·14)	2 (0·29)		880	2540	5568·48	3·11
Total No. of fragments	..	..	69	13	36	11	16	10	40		2540			

341
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TABLE D-41—(concld.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. PROJECT AREA											
1. Below 1/2 acre	12										
2. 1/2 to below 1 1/2 acre	8										
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	21	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. 1 to below 2 acres	44	37	8	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. 2 to below 3 "	26	12	12	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
6. 3 to below 5 "	18	18	10	10	4	2	—	—	—	—	1
7. 5 to below 10 "	19	18	14	12	5	4	2	2	1	—	—
8. 10 to below 25 "	1	4	10	6	11	7	—	—	2	—	1
9. 25 to below 50 "	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	1		—
10. 50 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total No. of holding —	150 (2·91)	121 (23·47)	85 (16·52)	34 (7·38)	23 (4·46)	13 (2·52)	4 (0·78)	2 (0·39)	4 (0·78)	— —	5 (0·97)
Total No. of fragments	559	344	254	147	115	59	30	8	13	—	30

TABLE D-4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments (1)	(2)	(3-4)	(5-6)	(7-9)	(10-12)	(13-15)	(16-18)	(19-20)	21 and above	Total No. of holding	Total No. of fragments	Total area under the size	Average size of frag. (acre)
9. PROJECT AREA														
1. Below 1/2 acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. 1/2 to below 1·0 acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. 1·0 to below 1·5 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. 1·5 to below 2 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. 2 to below 3 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. 3 to below 4 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7. 4 to below 5 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
8. 5 to below 7·5 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
9. 7·5 to below 10 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
10. 10 acres and above	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total No. of holding	--	--	1 (0·02)	-- --	1 (0·02)	--	--	--	--	--	402	1060	1894·42	1·75
Total No. of fragments	--	--	10	--	14	--	--	--	--	--	--	1060	--	--

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TABLE D—4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holdings	No. of fragments										
C. GENERAL AREA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Below 1/8 acre ...	3	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
2. 1/8 to below 1/2 acre ..	2	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	-	..	..
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre ...	8	6	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	1	..
4. 1 to below 2 acres ...	13	12	4	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. 2 to below 3 acres ..	5	12	7	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	1
6. 3 to below 5 acres ...	2	14	21	5	6	..	—	..	—	—	..
7. 5 to below 10 acres ..	—	5	9	9	1	..	2	..	1	..	..
8. 10 to below 25 acres —	..	4	4	..	—	1	—	..	..	1	..
9. 25 to below 50 acres —	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..
10. 50 and above ..	..	—	..	—	..	..	—	..	—	..	—
Total No. of holding	31 (16·79)	53 (81·52)	45 (21·27)	22 (11·33)	11 (0·66)	1 (0·61)	2 (1·21)	...	..	1 (0·61)	..
Total No. of fragments	31	106	135	71	58	6	14			10	

TABLE D-4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments								Total			
	12	13	14	15	16	19	20	21 and above	No of holding	Total No. of fragment	Total area under the size	Average size of fragments
C· General area												
1. Below 1/3 acre	--	--	..	--	..	...	..	..	3 (1.84)	3	0.75	0.25
2. 1/3 to below 1/2 acre	..	...	..	...	..	.	..	..	3 (0.	2	1.00	0.50
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	..	..	--	..	..	..	..	..	14 (7.98)	20	8.70	0.43
4. 1 to below 2 acres	..	..	...	..	--	..	..	..	35 (20.86)	74	47.10	0.64
5. 2 to below 3 acres	..	..	..	..	..	.	--	..	29 (17.79)	72	66.80	0.93
6. 3 to below 5 acres	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	45 (29.45)	139	174.99	1.26
7. 5 to below 10 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27 (16.56)	97	186.49	1.91
8. 10 to below 25 acres	..	--	..	..	...	..	..	..	8 (4.91)	16	125.25	3.48
9. 25 to below 50 acres												
10. 50 and above												
Total No. of holding	--	..	..	--	..	...	--	..	166	443	613.24	1.38
Total No. of Fragments.	..	..	..	--	...	..	..	..	..	443		

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

423
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311
423

TABLE D-5·1

Size of farm (1)	No. of farm (2)	Percentage (3)	Cumulative P.c. (4)	Total area covered acre (5)	Percentage (6)	Cumulative Percentage (7)	Average size of farm (8)
A. BORDER AREA							
1. Below 1/3 acre	27	3·56	3.56	6·34	0·16	0·16	0·23
2. 1/3 to 1/2 „	30	3·95	7.51	11·04	0·28	0·84	0·37
3. 1/3 to 1 „	74	9·75	17·26	45·61	1·17	1·61	0·62
4. 1 to 2 „	99	13·04	30·30	132.43	3·38	4·99	1·34
5. 2 to 3 „	105	13·83	44·13	250.75	6·41	11·40	2·39
Small farms	335	44·13	...	446·17	11·40	...	1·33
6. 3 to 5 „	147	19·37	63·50	526·53	13·45	24·85	3·58
7. 5 to 10 „	168	22·13	85·63	1124·70	28·73	53·58	6·69
Medium farms	315	41·50	..	1651·23	42·18	..	5·24
8. 10 to 25 „	98	12·92	98·55	1367·55	34·94	88,52	13·95
9. 25 to 50 „	6	0·79	99·34	198.48	5·07	93·59	33·08
10. 50 and above	6	0·66	100·00	250·75	6·41	100·00	50·15
Large farms	109	14·37	...	1816·78	46·42	..	16·67
Total	759	100·00	..	3914·18	100·00	..	5·16

TABLE D-5·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project areas:							
1. Below 1/3 acre	8	1·57	1·57	1·95	0·11	0·11	0·24
2. 1/3 to 1/2 „	6	1·17	2·74	1·90	0·11	0·22	0·32
3 1/2 to 1 „	31	6·07	8·81	19·69	1·09	1·31	0·64
4. 1 to 2 „	119	23·29	32·10	154·54	8·54	9·85	1·30
5. 2 to 3 „	114	22·31	54·41	256·30	14·17	24·20	2·25
Small farms	278	54·41	..	434·10	24·02	..	1·56
6. 3 to 5 „	111	21·72	78·13	383·22	21·74	45.76	3·54
7. 5 to 10 „	91	18·00	94·13	581·09	32·13	77·89	6·39
Medium farms	203	39·72	..	974·31	53·87	..	4·80
8. 10 to 25 „	30	5·87	100·00	40·00	22·11	100·00	
9. 25 to 50 „	..	...	..	..	..	..	...
10. 50 and above	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	30	5.06	..	400·00	22·11	..	13·33
Total—	511	100·00	..	1806.79	100·00	..	3·54

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Table D-5.1—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
C. General area.							
1. Below 1/3 acre	2	1.17	1.17	0.50	0.09	0.09	0.25
2. 1/3 to 1/2 ,, ...	1	0.59	1.76	0.50	0.08	0.18	0.50
3. 1/2 to 1 ,, ...	11	6.43	8.19	0.85	1.22	1.40	0.64
4. 1 to 2 ,, ...	40	23.39	31,58	56.45	9.80	11.20	1.41
5. 2 to 3 ,, ...	37	21.64	53.22	86.65	15.05	26.25	2.34
Small farms	91	53.22		151.15	26.25		1.66
6. 3 to 5 ,, ...	47	27.49	80.71	186.66	29.29	55.54	3.59
7. 5 to 10 ,, ...	25	14.62	95.33	164.00	28.48	84.02	6.56
Medium farms	72	42.11	176.04	832.66	57.77		4.62
8. 10 to 25 ,, ...	8	4.67	100.00	92.00	15.98	100.00	11.50
9. 25 to 50 ,, ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	8	4.67		92.00	15.98	..	11.50
Total—	171	100.00	..	595.81	100.00	..	2.20

TABLE D-6.1

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

Size of farm	Number of farms							
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Border Area								
1. Below 1/3 acre	21 (4·57)	..	...	21 (4·23)	3 (2·63)	3 (2·65)	...	6 (2.28)
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	27 (5·87)	1 (6·67)	..	28 (5·65)	...	2 (1·78)	..	2 (0·76)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	53 (11·52)	..	1 (4·76)	54 (10·89)	2 (1·75)	18 (15·93)	..	20 (7·60)
4. 1 to 2 acres	58 (12·61)	1 (6·67)	5 (23·81)	64 (12·90)	13 (11·40)	20 (17·70)	2 (5·56)	35 (13·31)
5. 2 to 3 acres	59 (12·83)	2 (13·33)	3 (14·29)	64 (12·90)	19 (16·67)	18 (15·93)	4 (11·11)	41 (15·60)
Small Farms	218 (94·37)	4 (1·73)	9 (3·90)	231 (100·00)	37 (35·58)	61 (58·65)	6 (5·77)	104 (100·00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7
139
311
433
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TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	86 (18·69)	8 (53·33)	5 (29·81)	99 (19·96)	21 (18·42)	19 (16·81)	8 (22·22)	48 (18·25)
7. 5 to 10 acres	95 (20·65)	2 (13·33)	6 (28·57)	103 (20·77)	27 (23·68)	24 (21·24)	14 (38·89)	65 (24·71)
Medium Farms	181 (39·60)	10 (4·95)	11 (5·45)	202 (100·00)	48 (42·48)	43 (38·05)	22 (19·47)	113 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	53 (11·52)	1 (6·67)	1 (4·76)	55 (11·08)	26 (22·81)	9 (7·96)	8 (22·22)	43 (16·35)
9. 25 to 50 acres	4 (0·87)	...	...	4 (0·81)	2 (1·76)	..	...	2 (0·76)
10. 50 and above	4 (0·87)	..	...	4 (0·81)	1 (0·88)	..	...	1 (0·38)
Large Farms	61 (98·41)	1 (0·79)	1 (0·80)	63 (100·00)	29 (63·04)	9 (19·57)	8 (17·39)	46 (100·00)
Total: —	460 (92·74)	15 (3·03)	21 (4·23)	496 (100·00)	114 (43·35)	113 (42·97)	36 (13·68)	263 (100·00)

Project Area

1. Below 1/3 acre	--	1	..	--	1 (0·66)	3	4	--	7 (3·89)	
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre -- ..	--	--	--	..	..	5	1	--	6 (1·89)	
3. 1/2 to 1 acre -- ..	--	14	..	3	17 (11·10)	9	3	..	29 (9·40)	
4. 1 to 2 acres	--	30	3	8	41 (34·11)	32	17	8	98 (31·67)	
5. 2 to 3 acres -- --	--	29	1	4	34 (30·36)	31	14	5	84 (27·35)	
Small Farms	--	78 (50·00)	4 (4·11)	15 (13·72)	97 (100·00)	131 (65·57)	39 (21·31)	21 (13·12)	189 (100·00)	

191 Assam C-5 (1958) 1963 ASP Sheet ASP

141

3 // 428 427

TABLE D-6.1—

(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 5 to 9 acres	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 9 to 13 acres	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium Farms	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 13 to 23 acres	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 23 to 36 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Large Farms	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total:	—		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Canonical forms

1. Straw (1), corn	—	—	0	—	—	0	0	—	—	0	
						(0.0)				(0.0)	
2. (2) vs (2) corn	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	0
						(0.0)					
3. (2) vs 2 corn	—	—	0	0	—	0	0	—	—	0	
						(0.0)				(0.0)	
4. 0 vs 2 corn	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
						(0.0)				(0.0)	
5. 2 vs 4 $\frac{0}{0}$	—	—	0	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	
						(0.0)				(0.0)	
Local forms	—	—		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
			(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	

Corn (1950) 1951 Corn 1951

TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 2 to 5 acres	31 (7.5)	1	1	26 (2.5)	19	1	--	2 (0.5)
7. 5 to 10 acres	14 (3.4)	8	--	11 (2.7)	10	1	--	2 (0.5)
Medium	98 (24.0)	9 (2.2)	1 (0.2)	37 (9.1)	29 (7.1)	2 (0.5)	--	2 (0.5)
8. 10 to 25 acres	6 (1.5)	1 (0.2)	--	--	2 (0.5)	--	--	--
Large	6 (1.5)	3 (0.7)	--	--	2 (0.5)	--	--	--
Total	410 (100.0)	22 (5.4)	2 (0.5)	10 (2.4)	10 (2.4)	65 (15.9)	3 (0.7)	7 (1.7)

TABLE D-7.1

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farm	Area in acre: Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and Partly rented: Owned area	Rented area	Total	Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area								
1. Small farms (less than 5 acres).	918.44	85.80	4.38	29.25	4.38	933.96	115.13	449.11
2. Medium farms (5 to 9 to less than 10 acres).	1806.63	963.99	49.38	80.88	130.26	1500.14	580.89	2081.03
3. Large farms (10 acres and above	1905.48	732.36	99.00	80.85	179.85	1804.33	812.58	2616.91
Total	4630.55 (79.46)	1781.85 (30.58)	152.76 (2.62)	190.98 (3.27)	343.74	5238.44 (89.96)	1508.60 (25.90)	5826.05 (100.00)

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TABLE D-7.1—*concld.*

(1)	(3)	(6)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area								
1. Small Farms (less than 10 acres).	305.12	59·23	19·47	41·58	70.05	393.59	100.00	434.46
2. Medium Farms (5 to less than 10 acres).	790.56	47·15	59·39	77,21	136.60	849.95	124.36	974.31
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	342.77	23·00	35·25	17.00	52.25	360.02	40.00	400.02
Total ..	1,420·45 (78·31)	129·38 (7·14)	123·11 (6·81)	135.79 (7.50)	258.90 ..	1,543.56 (85.34)	265.23 (14.66)	1808.79 (100·00)
C. General area								
1. Small Farms (less than 5 acres).	120·68	7·25	8.57	9·25	17.82	134·75	16·50	151·15
2. Medium Farms (5 to less than 10 acres).	360·97	8·00	7·73	14·86	28·37	397·80	2·84	952·44
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	80·00	..	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total ..	570·65 (87.92)	15·25 (2·35)	20·30 (3·13)	32·11 (4·92)	54·19	616·45 (91·42)	27·36 (8·58)	779·81 (100·00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

TABLE F-1.1

Number of firm by Gross output group

Size of firm	Number of household in the output group												
	Less than 180	180 to 250	250 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 to 1500	1500 to 2000	2000 to 2500	2500 to 3000	3000 to 3500	3500 to 4000	4000 & above	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Border Area:													
1. O	—	..	..	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	..
2. Less than ½ acre	20	3	..	..	..	..	..	.	...	..	..	..	27 (3·56)
3. ½ to ¾ acre ...	19	8	2	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	30 (3·95)
4. ¾ to 1 acre ..	33	29	14	1	...	...	..	...	..	..	..	..	78 (9·75)
5. 1 to 2 acres ..	87	81	24	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98 (13·04)
6. 2 to 5 acres ...	34	24	20	12	2	2	..	..	1	...	..	..	105 (13·83)
Small Farm	193 (19·4)	145 (67·67)	70 (21·79)	60 (17·91)	18 (2·37)	3 (·98)	2 (·66)	.. ..	... ...	1 (·31)	..	..	296 (100·00)
7. 5 to 7½ acres ..	5	25	99	48	29	9	5	2	..	..	..	1	147 (19·37)
8. 7½ to 10 acres ...	7	8	16	37	60	24	9	5	2	..	1	3	166 (22·14)
Medium Farm	12 (3·1)	33 (15·41)	45 (14·02)	85 (27·30)	89 (28·35)	33 (10·32)	14 (4·34)	7 (2·21)	2 (·63)	..	1 (·32)	4 (1·27)	313 (100·00)

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TABLE F-1.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
9. 10 to 25 acres..	3	1	1	15	32	21	7	6	3	4	..	5	98 (12·91)	
10. 25 to 50 acres	—	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	...	1	.	1	6 (0·79)	
11. 50 and above	—	...	...	..	3	1	..	—	...	..	...	..	5 (0·66)	
Large Farms ..	3 (2·75)	1 (·91)	2 (1·83)	15 (13·76)	36 (33·03)	23 (21·10)	7 (6·42)	8 (7·34)	3 (2·75)	5 (4·59)	... ..	6 (5·50)	109 (100·00)	
Total	50 (6·59)	17 (2·24)	120 (15·81)	161 (21·21)	143 (18·84)	54 (7·11)	17 (2·24)	15 (1·98)	5 (0·66)	6 (0·79)	1 (0·13)	10 (1·32)	759 (100·00)	
Total cultivated area.	196·01 (3·99)	368·65 (7·48)	385·92 (9·69)	687·68 (17·41)	1,143·86 (29·22)	593·44 (15·16)	153·53 (3·92)	234·78 (6·00)	70·00 (1·79)	104.16 (2·66)	8·50 (·23)	120·70 (3·08)	3914·18 (100·00)	
Average ..	3·12	1.67	2·97	4·21	8·00	10·99	9·03	15·65	14·00	17·36	8·50	12·07	..	
Project Area:														
1. 0 ..	—	..	...	...	—	...	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	
2. Less than 1/3 acre.	1	3	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	...	..	8 (1·57)	
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	1	4	1	—	..	...	..	..	..		..	..	6 (1·18)	
4. 1/2 to 1 acre ..	3	6	12	10	..	..	.	—	..	—	..	..	31 (6·07	
5. 1 to 2 acres ...	7	19	38	33	21	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	116 (22·73	
6. 2 to 3 acres ..	5	9	15	24	31	2	1	—	..	—	..	..	114 (22·22)	
Small Farms ..	17 (3·33)	41 (8·03)	69 (13·52)	91 (17·85)	56 (10·98)	3 (·59)	1 (·20)	..	..	...	..	..	378 (100·00)	

7.5 to 5 acres ...	2	6	7	29	57	6	2	...	..	..	..	..	111 (21·72)
5.5 to 10 acres ...	1	..	7	8	43	28	5	..	..	—	..	..	92 (18·00)
Medium Farm	3	6	14	37	100	36	7	..	..	..	..	..	203
	(1.48)	(2·95)	(6·90)	(18·23)	(49·26)	(17·73)	(3·45)	..	..	..	..	..	(100·00)
10.20 to 25 acres	—	...	1	5	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	(5·87)
10.20 to 30 acres	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	—	..	..
11.30 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	..
Large Farm	..	..	1	3	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	(3·33)	(10·00)	(13·33)	(6·67)	(26·67)	(13·33)	(13·33)	(3·33)	(3·33)	(6·67)	(100·00)
Total	29	47	84	133	158	41	16	4	4	1	1	2	511
	(3·91)	(9·20)	(16·44)	(26·03)	(30·92)	(8·02)	(3·13)	(0·78)	(0·78)	(0·20)	(0·20)	(0·39)	(100·00)
Total Cultivated Area	32·88	73·5a	150·98	355·26	642·63	238·09	142·91	64·75	44·00	14·25	17·00	31·50	1809,76
	(1·81)	(4·07)	(8·35)	(19·64)	(35·53)	(13·16)	(7·90)	(3·57)	(2·45)	(·78)	(·94)	(1·80)	(100·00)
Average	1·64	1·58	1.80	2·67	4·07	5·81	8·93	16·19	11·00	14·25	17·00	16·25	..

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TABLE F-1.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
General Area:													
1. 0	..	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Less than 1/3 acre	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 (1·17)
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 (0·58)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre	..	3	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11 (6·43)
5. 1 to 2 acres	1	3	16	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40 (23·39)
6. 2 to 3 acres	..	1	9	15	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37 (21·64)
Small Farm	1 (1·10)	9 (9·89)	31 (34·07)	32 (35·16)	18 (19·78)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91 (106·00)
7. 3 to 5 acres	1	1	6	19	21	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	47 (27·49)
8. 5 to 10 acres	..	..	2	5	12	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	25 (14·62)
Medium farm	1 (1·39)	1 (1·39)	8 (11·11)	18 (25·00)	33 (45·83)	9 (12·50)	2 (2·78)	..	..	..	..	..	72 (100·00)
9. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	—	1	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	8 (4·68)
10. 25 to 50 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Large Farm	...	..	..	1 (12·50)	4 (50·00)	2 (25·00)	..	1 (12·50)	..	..	..	..	8 (100·00)
Total ..	2 (1·17)	10 (5·85)	39 (22·81)	51 (29·83)	55 (32·16)	11 (6·43)	2 (1·17)	1 (0·58)	..	..	..	..	171 (100·00)
Total cultivated Area	4·50 (·78)	11·75 (1·95)	80·01 (13·98)	148·68 (25·79)	242·49 (42·11)	68·50 (11·91)	9·50 (1·68)	12·00 (2·00)	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	576·01 (100·00)
Average ..	2·25	1·12	2·05	2·91	4·41	6·24	4·75	12·00	..	..	..	..	..

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

(g) Cotton is grown on high lands and slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles, of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khási States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2361 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 33,800 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *mounds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *mounds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *mounds*, or 1½ cwt.; of potatoes, 35 *mounds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *mound*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 38 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiás can scarcely be considered as agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is considered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, four acres is all that can be cultivated with a single pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

435 439 [293] 273 435 as the rate of two or three cane for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing to three farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kwdam*, made from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phaitlin*, or *kathiad kiwad*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *seers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £2 a hundredweight.

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804 805 MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pán* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-sang*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *seer*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, leaves, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khási Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kuh; (2) Nong-kmie; (3) Um-long; (4) Kong-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pyn-sih; (7) Um-sih; (8) Yun-duh. In the Jáintia Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllee; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Mín-long; (4) Mín-siang; (5) Mín-shni; (6) Pyn-kut; (7) Thyn-thiew; (8) Ka-tun. The Khási months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla Iyrshut; (2) U Ryn-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiang; (5) U Jiemsang; (6) U Jillie; (7) U Nai-ning; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-hir; (10) U Ryndw; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Nai-pnah.

464 423 LABOURERS LOOKING CLOSELY.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 [427] VARIATION OF LAND TENURES can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khási Hills. The lands as a rule are either uncleared property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jhûm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhûmiá* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilised for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from rs. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásis, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the sodden state of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654